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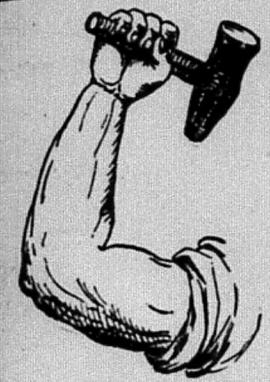
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VOL. IX.—NO. 27.

HENRY KUHN, Nat'l Sec'y, S. L. P.

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 1, 1899.

PRICE 2 CENTS.



Massachusetts State Ticket.

Governor:
GEORGE R. PEARE,
of Lynn.
Lieutenant Governor:
JAMES F. STEVENS,
of Boston.
Secretary of State:
FRANK McDONALD,
of Stoneham.
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of Springfield.
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FRANK ALBIN FORSTROM,
of Worcester.
Attorney General:
WALTER P. J. SKAHAN,
of New Bedford.

WORCESTER, MASS., Sep. 25.—The Socialist Labor Party of this State made history to-day. It met in convention in this city to nominate a State ticket for the pending campaign. This was not the first State Convention of the Party, held for the purpose; but it was the first one held wholly under the election laws of the State, the Party having polled last year the necessary three per cent. vote to bring it within the operation of these laws. This fact, coupled with this other, the severe class struggle that raged within the Party during the last months, lent a special importance, and it was thought to attach some danger to the occasion. The middle-class elements (represented in New York by the "Volkszeitung crowd") that sought to assert themselves within the Party, dominate it, and, if need be, break it down, could not yet this year be eliminated from participation in the Party's caucuses here. In this respect the Massachusetts election laws placed the Party at a disadvantage. Expunged from the Party organization, these middle-class elements clung to their rights under the law; they gathered to themselves the unclean freak element and the still uncleaner labor fakir element, and held caucuses wherever possible. They knew their numbers were too small to control the convention lawfully; they prepared to control it fraudulently. A job lot of "delegates" from Springfield and Westfield, with a local pettifogger, Clarence Spellman, as bugleman and pace-setter, turned up, ready to "do" the convention. The convention "did" them. The alertness of the Committee on Credentials detected the contemplated fraud; it recommended that, as the names of the delegates were read off, they should step forward, and take their seats. This measure uncovered the neat batch that meant to get in under false names and other fraudulent practices. The rigidity of the Chairman—Joseph Malloney, of Lynn—did the rest. The kangaroos, numbered down to 17, out of a total of 46 delegates, found "life not worth living." Seeing all their attempts at obstruction and at creating confusion wrecked; realizing from the temper of the convention that they would soon be put off physically, UNDER THE LAW, for disorderly conduct and as obstructors of a political State convention, the sanctity of which the State laws guaranteed, they did the final kangaroo act—they leaped out. With their bolt these gentlemen leaped out of history, into darkness.

But not even at this last act in the tragic-comic farce of its short career did kangarooism in Massachusetts neglect to help illustrate the correctness of the Socialist principle that brands it, here as everywhere else, unfit for, unworthy of, standing room within the ranks of the Socialist movement of the land. One of the seventeen bolters was one August Lehman. This worthy was elected in Holyoke, where he is a member of the Party. Both the sections of Holyoke have upheld the National Executive Committee, and emphatically repudiated kangarooism. The conduct of August Lehman was, accordingly, an immoral one: it was a direct violation of the tacit mandate of his organization. And what drove him to such an act? His private material interests. As the printer of a wild-cat paper that claims to be Socialist, but was repudiated by the Party membership in this State—the Springfield "Proletarian"—he is a creditor of that paper to a no small amount. "The Proletarian," as all such vulgar publications, hangs by a thread. August Lehman's interests in that paper hang, accordingly, from the same thread. That thread being kangarooism, he is a Kangaroo, whatever his party organization may be. Material interests shape the morals of man. Where such interests are vulgar, the "morals" must be mean.

As the Kangaroos leaped, their leap was accelerated by a motion. The Editor of THE PEOPLE, being in town upon the invitation of the State Committee, and as a representative of the National Executive Committee, a motion was put and promptly carried that a committee be appointed to call upon him at the Lincoln House, where he was stopping, and invite him in the name of the Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to a seat on the platform. His appearance on the floor was the signal for a wild scene of enthusiasm in which

rousing cheers for the Socialist Labor Party rose above the din. The comrade made a short address on the significance of the clean-cut work that the convention had performed, and the purifying power of the class-conscious political fire in which all freakism, humbug and corruption, like kangarooism, was bound to be speedily consumed, as speedily and completely as straws in a furnace.

Other speeches were made by several delegates, the convention proceeded with the business before it of nominating a State ticket, adopting a platform and resolutions, and making other provisions for the future internal management of the Party. The most important of these are given below.

It was 8.45 p.m. when the bang of the Chairman's gavel announced the adjournment of the convention sine die, and this convention of the Socialist Labor Party—a body composed of delegates that are the cream of the Massachusetts brain and brawn, superior in all essentials to any that any of the several other parties can gather—passed into history.

The convention days lasted virtually three days. The sessions were opened on Saturday evening, the 23d, at Horticultural Hall (the hall of the convention) by an address by Daniel De Leon on "Order with Progress, Progress with Order," with Martha Moore Avery as presiding officer. The address was taken stenographically, and will be printed in pamphlet form.

The following day, Sunday the 24th, was taken up until a late hour in the night by a conference of delegates from Party organizations to map out the work of the convention, and consider matters of internal concern.

At the morning session of this conference an incident occurred that was not on the programme. Mr. Hillquit, of the "Volkszeitung" party, asked for admission to challenge Comrade De Leon to a debate on the issues in the Party. The challenge had been extended the night previous at the meeting in Horticultural Hall, and Comrade De Leon, then and there, running rapidly over the unclean career of Mr. Hillquit in the New York labor movement, at the time when the fellow called himself Hilkwitz, pointed to the fishiness of a challenge to take place 140 miles from the town where the challenger and the challenged both lived, where the challenger was best known, where the living witnesses of his past betrayals of the working class could be easily produced, and where all this time the now "challenger" did not dare to utter any such challenge. For these reasons—the manifest dishonesty of the challenge, and the challenger being convicted of having betrayed the working class—the comrade declined to debate with such a person. This answer was received with emphatic applause, underscored by the hisses of a few straggling Kangaroos in the audience.

When the next morning the same application was made at the conference of the Party delegates, the sentiment was to refuse the request, as it was a waste of time to "fire more shot into a dead duck." Comrade De Leon's opinion being asked, he said, that he would positively not "debate" with the applicant for the reasons already given; nevertheless, as Mr. Hillquit was recently expelled from the Party for treason, the conference might admit him before its bar. In that case the comrade would place before the conference the reasons for Mr. Hillquit's expulsion, and the evidences of his "party's" usurpation; that would not take more than ten minutes; Mr. Hillquit could then answer with twenty; and the comrade would close with ten minutes, if needed. This view prevailed, and Mr. Hillquit was allowed inside, and told the conditions.

De Leon, with the constitution in his hands, and quoting from it proved, from admitted facts, that at every step the Kangaroos had violated their pledge; they started with a fraud by calling a bogus City General Committee; they proceeded from that to violate the constitution, then they resorted to violence, and, to that day, they had not yet issued a call to the whole Party for a referendum vote upon the justice of their act.

Mr. Hillquit started to speak; he was requested to move to the other end of the hall; when he got there he was startled to see that a stenographer had been placed there to take him down; he was visibly disconcerted, and asked, "Why a stenographer?" A voice answered, "Because we know whom we got to deal with." Mr. Hillquit felt himself caught tight; he could not there say one thing, and afterwards claim he had said another, as is his custom; moreover, being held to answer the points in the charge he had to abandon what was evidently his plan, the bringing in of irrelevant matter that would confuse his "argument" may be condensed in the words that De Leon summed it up with in his closing ten minutes. He said:

"I don't need ten minutes. The gist of the gentleman's argument was that the constitution of the Party is very lax in many respects, THEREFORE we must deliberately go about to make it laxer even in those clauses that are perfectly tight."

The applause of the conference showed absolute unanimity in rejecting the pettifogging argument and falsifications of Mr. Hillquit. He was told to leave the hall; he tried to speak some more, but the body indignantly drowned his voice, and, sputtering maledictions, he took his leave thoroughly thrashed.

Preamble and Platform.

We, the Socialist Labor Party of Massachusetts, in convention assembled this day, September 25, 1899, at Worcester, re-affirm our allegiance to the Principles and to the Platform adopted

at the National Convention in New York, July 9, 1896.

Knowledge, not authority, is the only adequate basis for political action.

Socialists affirm, as the central truth, the organic unity of society.

All political relations of the past have been subject to continual change consequent upon economic development.

When reduced to order, historic conditions present to view three great epochs in human society, each epoch based upon and correctly manifested by the methods of wealth production extant, with its accompanying social class relations and distinctions.

First, slave labor. The slave belonged to the master, therefore the production of the slave labor belonged to the master.

Second, the factory period, with its hand tools and its horse power. The free artisan owned his product because he owned his tools.

Third, the system of modern industry with its capitalist kings, its wage-slaves and its scientific mechanism.

Complex electric machines, tended by wage-slaves, and owned by capitalists, organized into gigantic trusts, is putting an end to competition among capitalists and making it fiercer among workmen. A chain of activity is set up that blinds men of different crafts and of minute subdivisions of different crafts throughout the world, to the performance of a single task, the production of a single piece of merchandise.

Capital is a social power. The capitalist must control the legislative, the judiciary and the military divisions of power, the government, to gain, to sustain and to advance private control of social wealth.

Wage-slaves en masse get the value of their only merchandise, labor-power, when it is sold in the labor-market. The most valuable the highest wage and the least valuable the lowest wage. It costs society more to produce a genius than to produce a common laborer; just as it costs nature a higher rate of intensity to produce a diamond than to produce a pebble. Workmen of Massachusetts are citizens! The servile and monstrous conditions of producing untold wealth for the capitalist class while women and children perish with hunger and men languish with idleness, and while the rich riot in luxury and fester with crime, must be overturned.

Gratitude to our forefathers who stamped the glory of citizenship upon the brow of Americans; Love to our families; Justice to our Commonwealth demands that we, the working class, become the ruling class. The fourth great epoch in industry will then be established, an end will be put to economic class distinctions—Democracy in industry and democracy in politics will be secure.

Workmen in this election, as the century turns a new page, we call upon each and all who declare for liberty of mind, equality of opportunity and fraternity in spirit and in action to line up with the voters of the Socialist Labor Party at the polls for the establishment of the co-operative Commonwealth.

Special National Convention.

WHEREAS, The infamous and deep-laid conspiracy of the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, engineered by Tammany Hall corruptionists and small traders, has been effectively dealt with by the Socialist Labor Party through its National Executive Committee, and

WHEREAS, Certain sections of the Party are now calling for a referendum vote on a proposition which would in the opinion of this conference, if carried, be productive of no good results, and would in effect be an admission that further action was necessary, thereby tending to magnify the importance of an affair which is now a matter of history and would moreover only serve to cripple the financial resources of the Party, which in view of the coming elections would be a suicidal policy and practically playing into the hands of the band of conspirators now happily outside the party ranks, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That we recommend the various sections in this State to defeat the San Francisco resolution in favor of holding a National Convention of the Party before the regular National Convention of 1900.

On State Organizer.

AND WHEREAS, In the opinion of this conference the condition of the Party demands that the work of organization be advanced and sustained by keeping an organizer in the field, be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this conference entrust the State Committee to advise the various sections to assist by all possible means the plan known as the State Auxiliary or Ten-Cent Plan; and

WHEREAS, In the opinion of this conference the support thus far rendered Organizer Malloney has not been of a character and nature sufficiently vigorous to merit the approval, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this conference hereby instructs the State Committee to forthwith vigorously and systematically push forward the work of political organization through Organizer Malloney, to the end that a strong political movement be properly organized; and

WHEREAS, The necessity for sustaining and endorsing such Socialist publications and papers as uphold at all times without fear, equivocation or compromise the revolutionary principles and tactics necessitated by a clear understanding of the class struggle, was never more vitally important than at present, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That this conference endorse only such Party papers as have fearlessly and uncompromisingly supported the Party in suppressing the reactionary and corruptionist element; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the conference recommend to the various sections to support the following (Continued on Page 2.)

S. T. & L. A.

An Interesting Convention Report.

From the Pittsburg, Pa., District—Valuable Items of Information for All Speakers Especially.

Mr. Chairman and Comrades:—It is with feelings of the greatest of pleasure that I take this opportunity of expressing to you in the name of the comrades of the District of Western Pennsylvania in general, and Pittsburg in particular, their good wishes and greetings to the comrades from all over the country.

I have heard it stated that there had been more effort and money spent in trying to perfect a Socialist organization in Pittsburg than in any other part of the Union.

I will not stop to question this statement, but I wish to show that if it is true, the results amply repay the outlays which may have been made in the past.

The Socialist movement in Pittsburg is in excellent shape. The comrades there are almost to a man, staunch, true, clear and class-conscious; it could hardly be otherwise, for they have had those good attributes almost fairly hammered into them.

The preparatory work has been done, and faithfully done, by the Germans of our region. They stuck to it through thick and thin, through rise and fall, and now those faithful teachers at last see the result of their efforts. That which they have so earnestly and persistently striven for all these years is being realized. The English-speaking element is coming to the front and the German comrades of Western Pennsylvania, instead of being disgruntled and disappointed at their coming and trying to stop the inevitable, are overjoyed at their advent, and spurred on by the zeal and younger energy of the newcomers, are working with them harder and more earnestly than before.

Thus it was that when comrade Hickey arrived in Pittsburg in August, 1898, he found it comparatively easy to organize three Locals of the S. T. & L. A., two mixed Locals, now known as Locals 189 and 190, and one machinists, known as Local 190.

These Locals, in conjunction with about nine others, form District 15.

Pittsburg always and still does suffer from a lack of speaking talent. If this were not the cause I would undoubtedly be able to make a far better report than I do. Nevertheless we were steadily increasing, and when the opportunity came, with it came a speaker. Not a speaker from Heaven, but from slow old Philadelphia. This speaker did not make union-made cigars, like some Philadelphia speakers, for he didn't use tobacco at all, nor was he always typographically perfect like other Philadelphia speakers; no, he was only a natural born speaker, who spoke Socialism that came from the heart, and who, having been deprived of the advantage of much education by this accursed capitalist system, was not a speaker at all in the opinion of the tobacco and whiskey combination.

The Schoen strike broke out, and with it came Schulberg's chance to do his duty. The Schoen Co. at that time held in bondage about 3,800 wage slaves, three of whom were Socialists, the two Foster brothers and comrade Stamper.

The strike started with eighty men in one department. They asked for a speaker. Schulberg and myself were sent for. We found them disorganized and disordered. Those of one religion distrusted all others, and those of one nationality distrusted all others, in the mean time calling each other vulgar names, spies and traitors. But lo, what a sudden change! Two hours of speaking Socialism, and this was all altered. They cheered each other, and shook each other by the hand and vowed eternal friendship.

The strike spread from one department to another. Finally all the men were out. In the mean time we conducted all their meetings and instructed them in the science of Socialism. The men took hold of it, and the teachings spread like wildfire.

During this time the Capitalist class was not idle either. At first their papers ignored us, but as that plan failed they lied about us, abused, slandered and vilified us. The preachers delivered sermons on "the evils of Socialism."

The company sent spies to the meetings, rowdies, backed by the police; attempts to start a riot were frequent.

They captured one of the active workers, Gallagher by name, and kept him imprisoned in an engine-house for a week.

They kidnapped Schulberg right off the street, and sent him to the workhouse. We then sent for Brower from New York.

They paid off the men on Friday in place of Saturday, so that they would have lots of time to get drunk; we told the men not to drink, but to take their money home to their families; the men heeded our advice, with the result that for the first time in the history of Schoen's pay days there was not a single arrest. They broke up a meeting, and arrested seventy-one men. We hired the best lawyer in Pittsburg, and the men were set free.

They tried to break our Socialist hold on the men by holding opposition meetings addressed by labor fakirs, parsons and so-called respectable citizens, but all to no purpose.

We had taught the men so well, had shown them the futility of pure and simple unions as a remedy so thoroughly that when we allowed two of Pittsburg's biggest fakirs, Thomas Grundy and Cal Wyatt, to address one of our meetings, and then took a vote as to whether they would stay with the S. T. & L. A. or drop it, the vote was unanimous in our favor.

Eleven days had passed. Parsons, preachers and politicians, newspapers, so-called respectable citizens and labor fakirs—all failed to disrupt us, and Schoen Pressed Steel Co. stock had dropped almost six points in the stock market, when the firm capitulated. The results gained for the men was a general rise of about fifteen per cent. in wages, and the adoption of the following rules:

Abolishment of work on the Sabbath day.

A new check system and the privilege of stopping work until the bodies of fellow wage-slaves who were injured or killed were carried from the department.

The result of the action of the Socialists in the Schoen strike has been of national benefit to the movement.

In Pittsburg it has enabled us to raise monthly almost the entire sum needed to put an organizer into the field.

Much to the chagrin of some of the pure and simple kangaroos, we picked out Schulberg, and the results have been very satisfactory.

We have opened the eyes of the working class of Western Pennsylvania in particular, and as a result the efforts of the labor fakirs to replace the loss caused to them by the fast dwindling dues, by holding Labor Day pic-nics and farce comedies at a Pittsburg theatre with Golden Rule Jones, Cold Lead Miles and other labor-befuddling frauds like Powderly and Gompers as speakers, proved flat failures, and there never was a more necessary and opportune time for the S. T. & L. A., founded, as it is, on the rock of the class struggle to take hold and emancipate the wage slaves than just now.

We are enjoying, as the capitalists call it, a period of prosperity. This prosperity, as it is called, consists in what? In working longer hours for shorter pay than ever before.

And what are we so busy about? Mainly in building machinery for export purposes.

The capitalist class has seen the foolishness of going to the expense of importing immigrants to work at domestic machinery, and is therefore now exporting the machinery to the immigrants instead. The result will be that when enough machinery has been built for the purpose we will stop building machinery, and the eight cents per day labor of the Oriental inhabitant will replace that of all other higher-priced workmen. An example: We are to-day importing the Stars and Stripes from Japan, and selling them six for five cents. They are American flags, made in Japan, by Japanese workers on American machines. These same flags made in America by American workmen, on American machines, cannot be sold at less than five cents each without an absolute loss. This will be the result in all industries, and then will come the crash.

Socialism is the only remedy, and it is our noble duty to enlighten the workers, and insist that they join the organization which must and will turn the ever improving machinery of production and distribution into a blessing instead of, as it is now, a curse to the human race.

I have purposely avoided saying anything about the coal miners and their conditions, leaving my fellow-delegate, comrade Thomas, of Buena Vista, who is himself a coal miner, to explain to you the absolute necessity of immediately organizing them into an S. T. & L. A.

WILLIAM J. EBERLE.

The English translation of Karl Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire" that some time ago ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx's picture as frontispiece. No Socialist even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply, Labor News Co., 147 E. 23rd st., N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents.

QUEENS COUNTY NOTICE—Primaries of the Socialist Labor Party of Queens County are hereby called to meet on Monday, October 1st, 1899, at 7 o'clock P. M., for the Re-election of the County Convention, to the second Assembly District Convention, and to the second Aldermanic District Convention at the following places: 3d Ward at Turn Hall, College Point; 4th Ward at Tagland's Hall, Woodhaven. Each Ward is entitled to representation by 5 delegates in each said Conventions.

The County Convention, the 2d Assembly District Convention and the 2d Aldermanic District Convention meet at Tagland's Hall, Woodhaven, on October 1st, 1899, at 9 o'clock P. M.

CHRISTIAN BAKKE,
Secretary Queens County Committee
S. L. P.

MOVING

Against the Trolley Trusts.

The S. T. & L. A.'s Campaign Against The Brooklyn Rapid Transit Co. and The Union Traction Co. of Philadelphia

IN BROOKLYN.

The powerful Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company has been compelled to recognize the seriousness of the campaign inaugurated against it by the S. T. & L. A. for the testing of the Ten Hour Law.

A few days before the 19th of September the Brooklyn trolley men were surprised by the following announcement, published in the Rapid Transit Company's newspaper mouthpieces:

President Rossiter, finding that it was impossible for the men to make five trips from New York to Coney Island in a day of ten hours, has made the day's work consist only of four trips. It was seen that most of the accidents occurring recently were due to the great speed necessary in order to accomplish the required five trips, so on this account, as well as for the benefit of the men, the required work has been reduced one-fifth.

The pretense of solicitude for the safety of the public and the well-being of the employees is too transparent to deceive anybody. If Rossiter had really been solicitous about the public or "his" men, he would not have waited with his reform until the Coney Island season was almost at an end, that is, until he had overworked his men and massacred the dear public as long as he had a chance of doing so during this season.

What the trolley magnate was solicitous about is explained by the nearness of the 19th of September. On that day the criminal prosecution for the violation of the Ten Hour Law was to come on before Judge Brenner.

Mr. Rossiter's sudden desire to appear as a protector of the public's limbs and as a father to the trolleyworkers was evidently due to the necessity of preparing a defence against the pending criminal action. It must have become plain to the Trolley Trust that this attack is not a sham affair as all previous attempts at or threats of testing the law have been. There is need of a defence.

The trolley trust has heretofore taken the position that in arranging its time tables it had intended to comply with the Ten Hour Law, that these time tables were practically consented to by the employees, since none of them made any formal complaint; that, if in some cases the men would not do their work in ten hours, the company had no official knowledge of the fact, and at any rate there was no more labor required of the men than they were willing to give.

This position cannot be maintained, after a formal complaint has been lodged with the criminal authorities.

But the Rapid Transit Company is apparently preparing to make the defence that it changed its schedule as soon as the impossibility of making the scheduled trips within the legal hours was brought to its notice and could be verified by investigation, and that it was so changed before the charge came up in court.

That explains why five days before the 19th of September the schedule of the Coney Island lines—the very lines to which the pending prosecution refers—was changed from five to four trips.

It will be interesting to watch the effect of the defence thus manufactured when the case comes to trial.

The company waived examination, when the case was called before Judge Brenner on September 19th, and thus avoided the necessity of revealing any part of its line of defence. The company was held for trial at the Special Sessions, where the case will be called for pleading in about two weeks.

IN PHILADELPHIA.

Simultaneously with the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company the Trolley Trust of Philadelphia—the Union Traction Company—felt the necessity of defending itself against the activity of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. After having been carried on quietly for some time, the work of organizing the Philadelphia trolley workers was brought to public notice through a circular issued last week by the Street Railway Workers' Alliance, a recently chartered L. A. of the S. T. & L. A. The movement has assumed such proportions as to force the Philadelphia press to give it considerable attention. Some of the papers print the circular in full, notwithstanding the outspoken manner in which it expresses the revolutionary position of the S. T. & L. A. The following heading and introductory sentences of a lengthy article in the "Evening Bulletin" show how the movement is regarded by the Philadelphia press:

HIGHER WAGES IS THEIR CRY.
Demands of the Street Railway Workers' Alliance of Philadelphia—The New Organization of Union Traction Employees—Keefe, of New York. A movement that is intended to obtain higher wages and shorter hours of work for street railway employees is actively being agitated in this city. The discontent that has been brewing in various labor circles in different parts of the country is to find an outlet in Philadelphia if the plans of the leaders are not forestalled.

The dispatches sent out by the press agencies suppress the fact that the movement is under the auspices of the S. T. & L. A., and contain an altogether misleading account of it. Even the names are garbled; Comrade Keefe, for instance, is called a "national promoter for the National Labor Alliance." To correct these false reports and give our comrades an accurate idea of the character of the movement, the circular will be reproduced in next week's issue.

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)..... 2,068
In 1890..... 13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)..... 21,157
In 1894..... 33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)..... 36,564
In 1898..... 82,204

No revolutionary political organization
will inspire the outside masses with respect
that will not insist upon and enforce dis-
cipline within its own ranks. If we allow
our own members to play monkeyshines
with the Socialist Labor Party, the lookers-
on, who belong in our camp, will justly
believe that we will at some critical mo-
ment allow capitalism to play monkeyshines
with us; they will not respect us, and their
accession to our ranks will be delayed.

"REFORM OR REVOLUTION."

TURNING THE CYCLE.

It is out of feudalism that capitalism
rose. Every step onward was at first
a step away from feudalism. The con-
clusion would seem to be forced that, as
society moves still further onward, it
moves still further away from feudalism,
still further from where it started.
Rash conclusion. Beyond a point, if
real onward, real progressive steps are
not made, society turns back to where
it started from.

Capitalist society in America has
reached the point that marks the period
where, if the onward march towards
Socialism is not taken, a retrograde
march back to feudalism must set in.
Of this fact, and of the fact that the
retrograde march has commenced there
are not a few instances. The latest is
recorded in Oklahoma Territory, near
the town of Bliss.

From Bliss, O. T., comes the news
that the critics of Markham, the poet
of the "Man with the Hoe," who snort
at the thought of a free-born American
being classed as brother to the ox,
should pay a visit to the 7,000 acre farm
of the 101 live-stock company there.
The man with the hoe has actually
usurped the specially ordained work of
the ox, the most remarkable fact known
to the agricultural fraternity being on
view in that locality in the shape of
HUMAN TEAMS pulling the plows.
When the team of men are ready to
start, the driver, in lieu of a whip, holds
over his team a loaded revolver, not
for the purpose of hastening operations
by making targets of the men, but to
use as a signal so that the human horses
can have a fair start.

Here surely there seems to be a reason
for Edwin Markham's startling
queries: "Are we shaping a new feuda-
lism—an industrial feudalism—which
will press the life out of the worker
and be dead to all thought if his social
well being?"

The men are usually tramps who
have been drummed into the service of
the livestock company by a liberal pay-
ment. When the pistol has cracked
and the team has the plow fairly under
way, the tramps rise from the crawling
attitude of the start and pull the plow,
walking in the natural position. With
so many of them in a team the work
is divided into a very small amount
of exertion for each man, and "Weary
Waggies" and "Footsore Willies" have
comparatively an easier time of it.

Superintendent J. C. Miller says that
only at certain periods of the year does
it pay to have the tramp team at work,
for while there are horses available the
latter are naturally preferred. When
the farmers are all working early and
late and all the cattle are busy in the
fields the horse becomes a scarce article
on these big farms, and the Oklahoma
agriculturist has to find some substitute.
The farmers of the territory are taking
up the idea, and the supply of tramps is
getting as scarce as the supply of horses.

Mr. Miller claims he can do the plow-
ing with a team of tramps at just half
the amount it would cost him to hire
horses when the latter are badly
wanted and are being held for the high-
est price. In Oklahoma the ranches are
so large that no one man owns enough
horses to do his work in the busy sea-
son.

It is not probable that the dignity of
the genus tramp would suffer men to
work in this lowly manner on farms
where the natives could gather around
and criticize. But here, where the ranch
owner and his hands are the only per-
sons encountered in a day's walk, the
broken down gentleman and the
mechanic who is walking for a job sub-
mits to being harnessed like cattle to a

plow without the fact being bruited
abroad over the land to the injury of
their reputation. While at work the
tramps are at least sure of a square
meal, for the ranch owner is hospi-
tality personified, and the appetite that
is cultivated by dragging a plow through
the field is liberally satisfied with good,
wholesome fare. The sleeping provision
made for the tramps is far better
than that to which they are accus-
tomed, so that the wanderer who is
enlisted as a helper on the ranch in
place of the costly horses finds that
he has fallen in for a comfortable job
at good money.

Are we not under a full head of steam
towards feudalism?

Bernard O'Toole will lecture Friday,
the 29th, at 340 W. 53d street (W. S.
Educational Club).

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

Instinct is a great thing. It is well
developed in the capitalist press. At-
tention was called about two months
ago to the enthusiasm and unanimity
with which the press of this city sided
with the tax-payer element that sought
to kill the Socialist Labor Party here.
A similar experience was made last
week in Worcester, Mass. The capital-
ist press of that city teemed, during and
before the convention with articles de-
noting their full sympathy with the
same element there. This came out
strongest while the convention of the
Party was in session. It did not suit
the gentlemen at all to see the firmness
with which the Party held the helm of
its ship; it did not suit them a bit
to see their pets the Kangaroos downed.
In its anger the capitalist press of
Worcester tried to throw ridicule upon
some of the Party's delegates on the
ground of their workmen's appear-
ance. Certain it is that any capitalist
paper would pay \$100 a head for such
a set of honest-looking and honorable
workmen in their conventions. The
only workmen the capitalists can
gather in their conventions bear on
their faces the stamp of the scab.

"Success" is the name of a publication
that certainly makes a success of mak-
ing its points clear. Its Labor Day issue
contains on its page 659 a full picture
of General Miles—the hero of the Pull-
man strike—surrounded with an article
on "Labor Organizations in the United
States," in which the brotherhood of
Capital and Labor is shown to be a
fact, and in order to prove the point,
the General's hand rests on a Gatling
gun, no doubt to illustrate how that
"Brotherhood" is enforced.

So far the point would seem clear
enough. But "Success" evidently did
not think so. In order to clinch the
point it prints on its page 660, just back
of Miles' picture, another picture—
Whose? Just back of Miles' article.
About whom?

The picture just back of General
Miles, in full regimental and hand on
gun is Mr. Samuel Gompers.

The article just back of the one that
figures as a setting for General Miles
is about Mr. Samuel Gompers.

How well both pictures and articles
supplement each other.

Gompers marshals the workmen
before the armed powers of the Nation
to be shot down, and Miles does the
shooting. And the thing is done to the
tune of "Capital and Labor are Brothers,"
sung in sweet harmony by both
gentlemen.

Who can doubt, after this, that at
least these two have interests in com-
mon?

The Dublin, Ireland, "Workers' Re-
public" thus explains the cry of "Law"
and "Order" that the oppressors always
have upon their lips:

Every movement for the improvement of the
condition of the human race, every step for-
ward in civilization, has of necessity had to
face the opposition of Law, and disturbed
the stability of Order. The pioneer of progress
has been an enemy of Law, and directed
all his efforts to the destruction of Order.
The reason is obvious. The human race in
its progress upward from savagery has had,
at each upward move, to meet the opposition
of the class who, thriving upon the misery
of their fellows, found their security in the
maintenance of the status quo and its at-
tendant evils. This class coming together for
mutual support imposed upon their weaker,
or less cunning fellows, certain rules and ob-
servances calculated to weaken the power of
the multitude and augment the privileges of
the few. These rules and observances were
called the Law.

There is no real law except the self-
imposed by majority rule.

The S. L. P. is safe. A few weeks ago
we thought that the most serious ac-
cident had happened to the Party. From
an article in the Cleveland, O., "Citizen"
it appeared that Debs had endorsed the
Party. A greater calamity the worst
enemies of the Party could hardly wish
to it. But fortunately we had not to
stop to consider. We had overlooked
the fact that for unreliableness of in-
formation the Bandlow-Hayes paper is
distinguished, and capable of the worst
sort of "pure and simple" fraud on its
readers. Had we stopped to consider
that, we never would have gone through
the pangs we did. We now feel easy.
The Milwaukee, Wis., "Wahrheit" has
upon the subject an item the substance
of which we hasten to communicate to
our readers.

It is to the effect that the extensively
carried-about yarn Eugene V. Debs had
recommended the S. A. P. in an article
to the Cleveland "Citizen" is "not only
not true, but is a hellish lie. Such an
article appeared, true enough, in the
"Cleveland Citizen," but AS DEBS AS-
SERTS IT WAS FALSIFIED." In short,
Debs did not endorse the S. L. P.
Now let's all breathe freely, and never
forget that the Cleveland "Citizen" is
quite capable of falsification of news
only, but of matter sent to it for publi-
cation.

CONSERVATISM.

The below is a synopsis of an address
delivered by Lucien Sanial on March 5,
1899, at a public meeting of the then
American Branch, of the old Section
New York, S. L. P. The subject has
singular application now, over nine
years later; moreover its manner of
treatment will preserve for it perma-
nent freshness:

"Is conservatism coming to an end in
the labor movement?"
Can any one here answer this ques-
tion? If so I shall instantly give him
the floor.

Surely I came not to answer it myself,
but to hear it answered by as many as
might be present here to-night. It is
really a question that every one con-
nected in some way with the labor
movement must answer for himself, in
so far as he is personally concerned and
no farther. He must ask himself, 1.—
Am I a conservative? 2.—Is my con-
servatism coming to an end?

Even put in this form, the question
will in most cases prove by no means as
easy of solution as may appear a priori.
Did you ever ask yourselves what this
word, "Conservatism," truly signifies?
If not, I may help you somewhat, but
that is all I can do for you.

Surely you know that the law of na-
ture is motion and change—change of
place, change of form. Conservatism is
simply resistance to that law.

Things that offer the highest degree of
resistance to motion and change in the
physical world are rocks, stones, petrifi-
cations of some sort, in which life is
not perceptible, and which are to the
least possible extent capable of mixing
or associating with other physical sub-
stances. And, likewise, in the moral
and intellectual world conservatism
involves hardness of the heart and of
the mind—individualism with a ven-
geance and with the least possible in-
dividuality. A conservative is a stone;
the more stone-like the harder his con-
servatism.

Now, of all beings in animated Nature
it would seem that man is now so con-
structed as to be the least conservative.
If the Darwinian theory be true—if it be
true that all things have a common
origin and differ only by reason of their
path and degree of evolution, man, as
the highest evolved of all, must, physi-
cally and intellectually, possess the
highest power of motion and of change;
he must be the least conservative—the
most adverse, in fact, to conservatism.
Not only does he evolve as an individ-
ual, but he moves and modifies every-
thing around him by his own motion.
He evolves nutritious plants from
weeds, dogs and horses and chickens
and other very tame animals from very
wild ones, etc. It is really by moving
and changing that he conserves him-
self; for, if he abstained for any length
of time from moving and changing
everything about himself, his very sur-
roundings would of themselves move
and change in a direction disastrous to
him.

And right here we see that conserva-
tism, so-called, conserves actually
nothing, but rather acts the part of a
destroyer. It mummifies, petrifies and
not infrequently petrifies what would
otherwise have evolved into a higher
form of life.

But some may object: Truth must be
conserved. Nonsense! Truth is a live
and life-giving thing, which has in it-
self the power of conserving itself. But,
turn it over to conservatism, and con-
servatism, like the head of Medusa, will
turn it into a stone. See the truth, men,
but never lay your hands upon it.

Now, if you accept my definition of
conservatism, little remains for me to
say that will enable you to determine
for yourselves whether you should or
should not be conservatives. The ques-
tion of importance, however, is not so
much what you should be as what you
are, and it is this question, as I have
already observed, that I wish you to
answer.

But you may not be able to answer it
without knowing what a conservative
looks like. No man can know his own
looks until he has seen his own image
reflected in a mirror, or in pure water,
or in the eyes of some fellow man.
Even then he may doubt the accuracy
of the mirror, or the purity of the water,
or the honesty of the human eye, if
his image does not suit his notion of
beauty.

Besides, all conservatives are not
alike, because their respective conserva-
tisms, though born of the same mother,
—which I believe is Ignorance—are not
begotten of the same father. But in all
you will find a common feature—a most
striking family resemblance. Shall I
say what?—Hypocrisy.

This may, in your opinion, be rather
severe on the conservatives. Well, I
intend to be severe, and by no means
at the expense of truth.

From the most stupid to the most
cunning of them, from the poorest to
the wealthiest, a sordid selfishness lies
at the root of their conservatism, and
none resists progress but is impelled by
personal considerations of the meanest
order.

Among the wealthy, the great, the
powerful, this is comprehensible. Of the
conservatives of this class I have nothing
to say. By craft and by force they
defend their wealth, their greatness,
their power. But among the poor, the
lowly, the helpless, such opposition to
social changes which cannot by any
possibility make them more miserable,
is inconceivable. And in reality if we
look below the surface, if in some way
we can strike the responsive chord in
the hearts of the masses, we soon find
that there is no conservatism there. But
there is apathy, born of ignorance and
helplessness. And it is this apathy that
the designing leaders of those masses
mistake for conservatism. And it is
these designing leaders—who them-
selves care not a jot for either con-
servatism or progress—that I brand as
conservatives, with all the odium of
hypocrisy that the term implies, ac-
cording to my definition of it.

I trust you will now perceive what I
really mean. I say, most emphatically,
that there is no conservatism in the
large body of Labor; but I do not say
that there is progress. There is igno-
rance, helplessness, apathy and no move-
ment; yet there is a natural readiness
to move, a dormant power of motion
which can at any time be developed into
a tremendous irresistible force, and
will be so developed as soon as the con-
sciousness of that power shall have been
infused into the mass. For its present
torpor, those who call themselves its

conservative leaders—and those alone
—are responsible.

In those men the "Labor Movement"
has for years been personified. While
some of them know that there can be
no such movement but in the direction
of socialism, they denounce on every
occasion its teachers and its principles,
and they prolong the apathy of the mass
by withholding from it the truth which,
once seen, would put an end to its
wretchedness and slavery.

The S. L. P.

In the Position it Takes on Taxation.

The position taken by the Socialist
Labor Party of the United States on
the subject of taxation is the only one
absolutely consistent with all the ob-
served facts and tendencies of Capitalism
at its present stage of development
in this country. It is an impregnable
position; and from the solid base which
it affords for well defined, clear-cut
Socialistic tactics on the political battle-
field the Party can safely advance
against the Republican plutocracy with-
out any fear of Democratic middle-class
ambushes or flank movements of a bo-
gus reform character.

In substance the premises and conclu-
sions of the Party, as they appear from
its official declarations, supplemented
by the utterances of its official organs,
candidates and authorized mouthpieces
generally, may be briefly stated as fol-
lows:

In the course of capitalistic evolution
the American government has necessari-
ly become an agency of the Plutocratic
Class, having for its almost exclusive
object to maintain and extend the eco-
nomic dominion of that class. Its
sphere of action, its domestic and for-
eign policy, and therefore also its mode
of raising the necessary revenue, must
in every respect conform with the in-
terests of the American Plutocracy.

Now this plutocracy is by far the
largest employer of wage labor. It owns
all the great manufacturing industries,
the mines, the railroads, the ships, the
telegraphs, the banks and the vast en-
tirety of wholesale commerce; to which
may be added the municipal services
performed by privileged corporations.

It has practically freed from taxation
all its mercantile interests by casting
the State and municipal burdens upon
real estate and providing for the nation-
al revenue, in part with a high tariff
that gives it a monopoly of the home
market, and in part with internal taxes
chiefly borne by the middle class.

What it now needs is cheaper labor—
constantly cheaper—in order to extend
its supremacy abroad and thus dispose
of the vast surplus product for which it
can find no domestic outlet. This it
cannot get by any mode of taxation.
Even if the taxing of necessities could
result in reducing the purchasing power
of wages, and thus, making the work-
ingman pay a part of the cost of pluto-
cratic government, little would be
gained because it would render more
difficult their reduction in money. It
is, in fact, the price of labor, even
more than the standard of living, that
the plutocracy must first reduce in order
to accomplish its object; for it is with
low prices only that it can gain com-
mand of the world's markets. Rather
then, give the working people a "free
breakfast"—free from taxation—if it
can do any good to those who may be
able to pay for it. But, manifestly, this
is of very little importance. The plu-
tocracy must achieve its purpose by the
direct method of placing the worker in
growing competition with his fellow
worker, and all the workers in growing
competition with the constantly im-
proving machinery of production.

To that simple and direct plutocratic
policy the Socialist Labor Party of the
United States opposes this simple and
direct proletarian policy:

Wherever it may get control of the
public powers, it will wield the Power
of Taxation, among others, with relent-
less energy for the benefit of the work-
ing class. Not only will it impose an
income tax as specifically provided in
its national platform, but it will tax all
property of any kind (equally assessed
at its full value), to the full extent re-
quired to carry out its palliative meas-
ures of relief and improvement.—LU-
CIEN SANIAL, "Socialist Almanac,"
Sup. 3.

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bins, Carroll street.

The receipt of a sample copy of THE
PEOPLE is an invitation to subscribe.



Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan.

Brother Jonathan—It does sometimes
seem to me that these Socialists are un-
reasonable.

Uncle Sam—Inasmuch as to how?

B. J.—They don't seem to realize the
benefits conferred upon society by the
capitalists.

U. S. (sneezing)—Suppose you en-
lighten me on these "benefits."

B. J.—Take any instance at random.
Here is a man, John Jones; he has a
hundred thousand dollars in the bank;
and yonder are a hundred men out of
work. These men will starve unless
they get a job; John Jones won't
starve, you can't starve with a hundred
thousand dollars. John Jones could, if
he wanted, eat up his money. If he
did, he would be having a good time,
but the hundred men would hunger.
Right here steps up the capitalist as a
benefactor—

U. S. (placing his right hand to his
right ear)—A what?

B. J.—A benefactor. The capitalist
steps in as a benefactor of society. In-
stead of lolling comfortably on his
\$100,000, he invests them; he sets up a
factory that employs these one hundred
men out of work. From that moment
on the men cease to starve. Has not
this capitalist done a positive service
to the community?

U. S.—You are quite sure he did?

B. J.—Of course!

U. S.—And you consider him a bene-
factor?

B. J.—Don't you?

U. S.—And you would conclude from
that, that he and the whole capitalist
class should be preserved?

B. J.—Certainly.

U. S.—Because if he and it were
wiped out society would cease to be
benefacted?

B. J.—That's it.

U. S.—Now, let's look at all that a
little closer. In the first place let me
know what you understand by a "bene-
factor."

B. J.—A man who does me a good
service.

U. S.—If such a man is compelled, by
his own interest, to do you that good
service, would he still be a benefactor?

B. J.—We-e-l-l, n-o; n-o-t quite.

U. S.—To entitle a man to the title
of a "benefactor" his act must combine
several qualities. I shall mention 2:

1. It must do good; and

2. It must be done out of his own
free will, undriven by personal interest.

B. J. (rubbing his hands)—That's very
well put. That's exactly. That's just
what I have shown you that the capi-
talist does:

No. 1. His act does good in that he
gives bread to men who would other-
wise starve for want of work.

No. 2. He does so out of his own free
will.

U. S.—We shall, for the present, grant
No. 1. The No. 2 is false.

B. J.—Not much! Why, the capitalist
needn't—

U. S.—Will you oblige me by keeping
your shirt on for 2 minutes and 15 sec-
onds?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—The No. 2, which you claim, is
that the capitalist is not driven by his
own needs to "give work"—

B. J.—Exactly.

U. S.—It is just the reverse. I shall
show you in the shaking of a lamb's tail
that if he didn't, if he allowed the work-
ers to starve, he would have eventually
to starve himself.

B. J.—What?

U. S.—Can a \$100,000 last forever?

B. J.—No.

U. S.—If this capitalist lived on even
as little as \$5,000 a year, how long do
you imagine would his \$100,000 last?

B. J. (winks his eyes as if a candle
light had been suddenly held up before
them)—Twenty years.

U. S.—And after that?

B. J. remains silent and pensive.

U. S.—After that his money would
be all gone and he would have to starve,
or go to work, or steal, eh?

B. J.—Hum!

U. S.—Can you get out of that?

B. J. remains silent and still more
pensive.

U. S.—When your capitalist invests
his money, "gives labor bread" or plays
the "benefactor" he is simply giving
HIMSELF bread and benefiting HIM-
SELF. What he accomplishes by his
investment it to get his yearly \$5,000
out of the sweat of the brows of his
workers and keep his original \$100,000
untouched. When he invests he does
so, accordingly, not to do good to others,
but to do himself the double good of
living grandly without consuming the
amount of his capital and doing so by
fleecing his "benefactorees." Save me
from such "benefactors" and such "ben-
efactions!"

B. J. during this time has been in-
specting closely a distant flock of cloud
against the azure sky.

U. S.—What has become of your "ben-
efactor?"

B. J.—I have been trying to find where
he is.

U. S.—Your search is now difficult
enough; but I propose to make it so dif-
ficult that you couldn't find your bene-
factor were you to look for him with a
Lick telescope.

B. J. gives up the flock of cloud and
turns his eyes to Uncle Sam.

U. S.—I said before that a benefaction
must combine several qualities. For the
moment I granted No. 1, to wit, that it
must be

Division Of Products Under Socialism.

The question most frequently put to a Socialist by capitalists is: How will Socialists divide the wealth they produce; is each to have an equal share; or how? "Division," that is the thing that sticks in the very marrow of the phillistine, like a veritable leprosy. Their whole conception of Socialism begins and ends with that word. Indeed, even among the most cultured, the idea is quite prevalent that the object of Socialism is to divide the whole wealth of the nation among the people.

That this view still prevails, despite all protests and proofs on the part of the Socialists, is to be ascribed, not only to the malice of the enemies of Socialism, but also, and perhaps to a greater extent, to their inability to understand the social conditions that have been brought on by the development of large production. Their horizon is still, to a great extent, bounded by the conceptions that apply only to the system of small production. Indeed, judging from the standpoint of small production, the only form of Socialism possible is division. From the start of production for sale in antiquity it has happened innumerable times, as often as a few families had heaped great wealth and had reduced artisans and farmers to dependence, that these plotted for the expulsion of the rich and the division of their property. They succeeded in this for the first time during the French Revolution, notwithstanding, or perhaps, just by reason of its emphatic assertion of the rights of private property. Peasants, artisans, and the class that was about to develop into capitalists divided among themselves the church estates. Division is the Socialism of small production; it is the Socialism of the "conservative" ranks of society; it is not the Socialism of the Proletariat.

It needs time, but the feat will yet be accomplished of ramming into the heads of the so-called luminaries of our social system that Socialists do not propose to divide; that, on the contrary, their object is to concentrate in the hands of society the instruments of production, production and the payment of many owners.

But this does not yet dispose of the question of division. If the means of production belong to society, to it must belong, as a matter of course, the function of disposing of the products that are brought forth with the aid of these instruments. In what way will society distribute these among its members? Shall it be upon the principle of equality or according to the labor performed by each? And in the latter case, is every kind of labor to receive the same reward, whether it be agreeable or not, hard or easy, skilled or unskilled?

To many, the answer to this question seems to be the central point of Socialism. Not only does it greatly preoccupy the foes of Socialism, but even the early Socialists devoted the greatest amount of attention to it. From Fourier to Weitling, and from Weitling to Bellamy there runs a steady stream of the most diversified answers, many of which reveal a wonderful degree of acumen. There is no lack of positive propositions; many of them are as plain as they are practicable. Nevertheless, the question is not of the importance that is generally ascribed to it.

Time was when the distribution of products was looked upon as wholly independent from production itself; seeing, moreover, that the contradictions and ills of the capitalist system of production manifest themselves first in its peculiar method of distributing its products, it was quite natural that both the exploited classes and their friends should have located the root of the evil in the "unjust" distribution of products. Of course, these people proceeded, obedient to the views that were prevalent at the beginning of this century, upon the supposition that the existing system of distribution was the result of the ideas of their days, i. e., of the popular understanding of right and wrong. In order to remove this unjust system of distribution, all that was needed was to invent a just one, and to convince the world of its advantages. The just system of distribution could, of course, be none other than just the reverse of the existing one. Among these people, some reasoned thus: "To-day there reigns the crassest inequality; the principle upon which distribution should be based must be one of equality." Others followed another line of thought; they said: "To-day the idler rolls in wealth while the laborer starves, consequently let the principle be 'To each according to his deeds.'" Yet a third set raised objections to both principles, and they set up a third formula: "To each according to his needs." The early Socialists spent much time upon this subject. For the same reasons that they did so, to wit, their imperfect comprehension of the social mechanism, not a few ideologists right here in the United States have tangled themselves in the meshes of a profitless discussion upon this comparatively unimportant subject.

Modern Socialism, basing itself upon economic science takes the stand that the distribution of products in a community is determined, not by the prevailing conceptions of right and wrong, but by the prevailing system of production. The share of the landlord, the capitalist, and the wage-worker in the total product of society is determined by the role which land, capital, and labor-power play to-day in the modern system of production. Sure enough, in the Co-operative Commonwealth, the distribution of products will not be left to the mercy of blind laws, which can never be well understood by those concerned. The same as to-day, in the interior of a large industrial establishment, production and the payment of wages are matters that are carefully considered and well regulated, so likewise in a socialist commonwealth, which is nothing more than a single gigantic industrial concern, the same principle must prevail. The rules according to which the distribution of products is to be carried out will be established by the parties concerned. Nevertheless, it will not depend upon their whim what

those rules shall be; these will not be adapted arbitrarily to this or that principle, however sonorous it may sound; they will be determined by the actual condition of society, above all, by the condition of production itself.

For instance, the degree of the productivity of labor at any given time exercises a great influence upon the manner in which distribution is effected. Without any excessive strain on the imagination, we can conceive a time when science will have raised industry to such a high level of productivity that everything wanted by man is produced in great abundance. In such case, the formula "To each according to his needs" would be applied as a matter of course and without difficulty. On the other hand, not even the profoundest conviction of the justice of this formula would be able to put it into practice if the productivity of labor remained so low that the proceeds of the most excessive degree of labor could produce only a bare necessity. Again, the formula "To each according to his deeds" will always be found inapplicable. If it has any sense at all, it pre-supposes a distribution of the total product of the commonwealth among its members. This notion, the same as that about a general division and the military form of Socialism, spring from the modes of thought that are peculiar to the modern system of private property. To distribute the products at stated intervals would be equivalent to the gradual introduction of private property in the means of production.

The very essence of socialist production limits the possible distribution of products to only a portion of these. All those products which are requisite to the enlargement of production can not, as a matter of course, be the subject of distribution; and the same holds good with regard to all such products that are intended for common use, i. e., to the establishment, preservation or enlargement of public institutions.

Already in modern society the number and size of such institutions increases steadily; it is upon this domain especially that large production crowds down small production within the circle of household duties. It goes without saying that so far from being checked, the development will be greatly stimulated in a socialist commonwealth.

The quantity of products that can be absorbed by private consumption and, accordingly, be turned into private property, must inevitably be a much smaller portion of the total product in a socialist than in modern society, where almost all products are merchandise and private property. In socialist, differently from capitalist society, it is not the bulk of the products, but only the residue that needs distribution.

But even this residue socialist society will not be able to dispose of at will; there, too, the requirements of production will determine the course to be pursued. Seeing that production is undergoing steady changes, so likewise will the forms and methods of distribution be subject to manifold changes in the socialist commonwealth.

It is a Utopian idea to imagine that a special system of distribution is to be manufactured, and that it will stand for all time. On this field, as little as on any other, is socialist society likely to move by leaps and bounds, or start all over anew; it is bound to go on from the point at which capitalist society ceases. The distribution of goods in a socialist commonwealth might possibly continue for some time under forms that are essentially improved developments of the existing form of wage payment. At any rate this is the point from which it is bound to start. Just as the forms of wage labor differ to-day, not only from time to time, but also in various branches of industry, and in various sections of the country, so likewise, may it happen that in a socialist commonwealth the distribution of products may be carried on under a variety of forms corresponding to the various needs of the population and the historical antecedents of the industry. The conception of the Co-operative Commonwealth as a rigid, cut-and-dried, uniform institution held by hard and fast rules is mistaken; it is, on the contrary, the system that is not only opposes least resistance to, but also immeasurably the course of evolution in all its manifold branches.

Next to the thought of "division," that of "equal shares" troubles the foes of Socialism most; "Socialism," they declare, "proposes, that every one shall have an equal share of the total product; the industrious is to have no more than the lazy; hard and disagreeable labor is to receive no higher reward than that that is light and agreeable; the hod-carrier who has nothing to do but to reach out the material is to be on a par with the architect himself; under such circumstances, every one will work as little as possible; no one will perform the hard and disagreeable tasks; knowledge having ceased to be appreciated will cease to be cultivated; and the final result will be the relapse of society into barbarism; consequently Socialism is impracticable."

The idiosyncrasy of this reasoning is too glaring to need exposure. This much may be said: should socialist society ever decide to decree the equality of incomes, and should the effect of such a measure actually threaten to be the dire one prophesied, then, and in that case, the natural result would be, not that socialist production, but the principle of equality of incomes, would be thrown overboard.

The foes of Socialism would be justified to conclude from the equality of incomes that Socialism is impracticable if they could prove:

(1) That this equality would be, under all circumstances, irreconcilable with the progress of production. This they never have been and never will be able to prove, seeing that the activity of the individual in production does not depend solely upon his remuneration, but upon a great variety of circumstances—his sense of duty, his ambition, his dignity, his pride, etc., etc.—none of which can be the subject of positive prophecy, but only of conjecture, a conjecture, however, which un-

der improved social conditions, so far from making in favor, can only make against the opinion expressed by the adversaries of Socialism; and

(2) That the equality of incomes is so essential to a socialist society that the latter cannot be conceived without the former. To prove this the foes of Socialism will find equally impossible. A glance over the various forms of communist production which have still survived the shock of time, from the primitive communism practised by our aboriginal Indians, down to the latest communist societies that have sprung up in various parts of the land, will reveal how manifold are the forms of distribution that are applicable to a community of property in the instruments of production. All forms of modern wage payment—fixed salaries, time wages, piece wages, bonuses—all of them are reconcilable with the spirit of a socialist commonwealth; and there is not one of them that may not play quite a role in socialist society, according as the wants and the customs of its members, together with the requirements of production, may demand.

It does not, however, follow from this that the principle of the equality of incomes—a principle that is not necessarily identical with their uniformity—will cut no figure whatever in socialist society; whenever that principle shall assert itself, it will not spring up as the aim of a movement for leveling things generally, forcibly, and straightway, but as the result of a natural development and social tendency.

In the capitalist system of production there is seen simultaneously both a tendency to increase, and one to diminish the differences between incomes; one tendency would aggravate, the other would reduce inequalities.

By dissolving the middle classes of society and swelling evermore the size of individual fortunes the capitalist system broadens and deepens perceptibly the chasm that exists between the masses of the population and those who are at its head; the latter tower ever higher above the former and become less and less approachable to them. Hand in hand with this tendency is noticed another, which, operating within the circle of the masses themselves, steadily equalizes their respective incomes; it flings the small producers, farmers, and industrialists, into the class of the proletariat, or at least, pushes their incomes down to the proletarian level, and wipes out existing differences between the proletarians themselves. The machine tends steadily to the removal of all the differences which originally took root among the proletariat; to-day, the differences in wages among the various layers of labor fluctuate incessantly and come nearer and nearer to a point of uniformity; at the same time the incomes of the educated proletariat are irresistibly tending downwards.

The equalization of incomes among the masses—that thing at which the adversaries of Socialism affect to be shocked, and which they brand with moral indignation as the malignant purpose of Socialism—is going on under their own eyes, and is the result of their own precious system.

As a matter of course, all those tendencies that sharpen inequalities, and that proceed from the private ownership in the means of production, would come to an end, while the tendency to wipe out inequalities of incomes would find stronger expression under the Socialist system. But here again, the observations made upon the dissolution of existing family forms and upon the downfall of small production hold good with equal force; the tendency of the economic development remains in socialist, to a certain extent the same as in capitalist society, but it finds expression in a very different way. To-day, the equalization of incomes among the masses of the population proceeds by the depression of the higher incomes to the level of the lower ones; in a socialist commonwealth it must inevitably proceed by the raising of the lower to the standard of the higher.

The adversaries of Socialism seek to frighten the small producers with the claim that an equalization of incomes can mean for them nothing else than the lowering of their conditions, because, say they, the incomes of the wealthy classes are not large enough, if divided among the poor, to preserve the present average income of the middle classes; that, consequently, if there is to be equality of incomes, the middle classes will have to give up part of their incomes, and would by so much be the losers under Socialism.

Whatever truth there may be in this claim, lies in that the most miserable, above all, the slums, are to-day so numerous and their indigence so great that the distribution among them of the immense incomes of the rich might not suffice to bring their condition quite up to the standard of the middle class. Whether this argument could be advanced as a special reason for the preservation of our glorious social system may well be doubted; some may be of the opinion that any improvement that might be accomplished through such a division would be a positive gain.

There is, however, no question about "division;" the only question is upon the change of the method of production. The transformation of the capitalist into the socialist system of production, must inevitably result in a rapid increase of the quantity of wealth produced yearly. It must never be lost sight of that the capitalist system of production for sale hinders to-day the economic development, hinders the full expansion of the productive forces that lie latent in society. Not only is it not able to absorb the small industries in the measure in which the technical development makes possible and requires; it has become even impossible to it to employ all the labor forces that are available. The capitalist system of production squanders these forces in that it steadily drives an increasing quantity thereof into the ranks of the unemployed, the slums, parasites, and the unproductive middle men.

Such a state of things is simply impossible in a socialist commonwealth; it could not fail to find productive labor for all its available labor forces; it would increase perceptibly, nay, it would double the number of productive workers; in the measure in which it did this it would multiply the total wealth produced yearly. This increase in production would be enough in itself to raise the incomes of all workers, and not only those of the poorest ones.

Furthermore, socialist production would greatly promote the absorption of small and its substitution by large production, and thereby also increase greatly the productivity of labor; it would then be possible not only to raise

the incomes of the workers, but also to lower the hours of work.

In view of this the claim is puerile that Socialism means the equality of pauperism. That is not the equality towards which Socialism tends; it is the equality into which the modern system of production drives mankind. Socialist production must inevitably improve the conditions of all working classes—those of the small producer and small working farmer included. According to the economic conditions, under which the change from capitalism to Socialism may be effected, will the improved general well-being of the community be greater or less; but whatever those conditions may be, the progress will be marked; and from that point on every further economic development will, instead of lowering, as it does to-day, raise the general well-being of the commonwealth.

This turn in the direction of the course generally taken by incomes is, in the eyes of Socialists, of much more importance to the well-being of society than the absolute increase of incomes. The thoughtful man lives more in the future than in the present; what the future threatens or promises to him preoccupies him more than the enjoyment of the present. Not what is but what will be, not existing conditions, but tendencies determine the happiness or the unhappiness both of individuals and of whole states.

Thus we become acquainted with another element of superiority in socialist over capitalist society. It affords not only an improved condition of well-being, but also the certainty of livelihood—a certainty not afforded to-day by the largest fortune. If the improvement of well-being can be appreciated, mainly, if not only, by the classes that hitherto have been exploited, the certainty of a livelihood is a boon to the exploiters themselves, to those whose well-being needs no improvement even where such might be possible. Uncertainty hovers over both the rich and the poor, and possibly it is more trying than want itself; it causes even those to taste the bitterness of want who are not yet subject to it; it is a specter that haunts the most luxurious homes.

All observers who have become acquainted with communist societies, whether these were situated in India, France or America, have all been struck with the appearance of calmness, confidence, and equanimity peculiar to their members. Independent of the oscillations of the market, and in possession of their own instruments of production, they are self-sufficient; they regulate their labor according to their needs, and they know in advance just what they have to expect. And yet the security against want enjoyed by these primitive or more recent colonies is far from being perfect; their control over nature is slight, the communities themselves are small. Mishaps brought on by cattle diseases, failures of crops, freshets, etc., are not infrequent, and when they occur smite the whole body. Upon how much firmer a basis does not the Co-operative Commonwealth stand with boundaries co-extensive with those of the nation and with all the conquests of science at its command!

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HENRY KUHN, Secretary.

The receipt of a sample copy of THE PEOPLE is an invitation to subscribe.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

Don't write on both sides of the sheet;
Don't write on tissue paper;
Don't write with pencil;
Don't write with a broom-stick, if a tooth-pick is handy, pens preferred;
Don't crowd your lines;
Don't begin at the uppermost edge of the sheet;
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Don't forget to give your P. O. address and date of letter;
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Don't write proper names so as to insure the chances of their being misspelled;
Don't write on sheets of uneven size;
Don't take this ill.

Accurate Information Desired.

TO THE PEOPLE.—I would like someone accurately posted to inform me through the columns of THE PEOPLE, whether the printers strike against Hearst's paper in San Francisco occurred, what was Hearst's action thereon, what was the windup, and all other details of general interest.

AGITATOR.

New York, Sept. 20th.

At It in Norway.

TO THE PEOPLE.—Socialism received its second boost from the mighty hand of the law as represented by South Norwalk's police. Organizer Emil Singwald, the second on the roll of honor, was arrested while acting as chairman at an outdoor meeting in Railroad place. As soon as Comrade Singwald had begun his address, Chief Constable appeared on the scene and in the name of the law and other things commanded the assembly to disperse. Comrade Singwald taking no notice of the interruptions continued speaking when the chief ordered him to subordinate to his duty, and our comrade was led off to the police station and placed behind the bars. Whilst two of the comrades hunted up a judge to take bonds for the release of our organizer, others of the comrades led the crowd to Germania Hall, where State Organizer C. J. Mercer, of Bridgeport, Comrade E. F. Brown, of New York, and Comrade E. F. Wegener, of New Jersey, addressed the meeting. In the meantime, after about 40 minutes' delay, a judge was found and our comrade was released under \$25 bonds. He, with the remainder of the crowd, marched to the hall where the great and hearty applause. A good impression was made upon the audience by all the speakers.

Now, while the authorities here are bethinking us, it is in all haste we are receiving a great deal of criticism. As the result of one of our local papers says, we have certainly agitated to some purpose. He adds:

"They have made a good thing out of this little thing, and the authorities, and they will do very well if they leave well enough alone, and simply continue their meetings as they did Saturday, without a serious conflict. They have so far secured the best kind of advertising they could possibly hope for, and if nothing happens between now and election time to 'quell' their cause, they will get enough tickets in the ballot box. In October, the strikers had been imposed upon by it's an off year, all around, the party lines are relaxed from other causes, and the local S. L.'s have the chance of their lives to make a showing."

Our case is continued for a week and comes up for a hearing Sept. 25.
JAMES C. HAYES, Sec.
South Norwalk, Ct., Sept. 20.

Will "A Machinist" of Yonkers, Furnish the desired information?

TO THE PEOPLE.—In THE PEOPLE of the 10th inst., there is under the head of correspondence a notice concerning among others, the strike at the Rand Drill Works at Tarrytown, N. Y., stating that the strike was not satisfactorily settled, and implying that the strikers had been imposed upon by the officers of their organization, the I. A. of Machinists. A comrade here has used the matter for agitation among the machinists of the town. He said, "I was in the meeting that the writer of the notice did not state the truth. We would like to be put in the way of getting at the facts and details of this matter. We can use it with good results among the machinists of New York City." An early answer will be of great advantage to us, as we want to keep the thing going after it got started.
Schenectady, N. Y., Sept. 17.

Kangaroos Will Remain Kangaroos.

TO THE PEOPLE.—A number of slobbs together at corner of Third Street and Ave. C, and arranged an open-air meeting last Friday night.

It seemed to me that it was purposely arranged to discuss the beer question. The chairman who was in great spirits remarked that the workmen of this country must unite as workmen in all other countries. They had been imposed upon by the officers of their organization, the I. A. of Machinists. A comrade here has used the matter for agitation among the machinists of the town. He said, "I was in the meeting that the writer of the notice did not state the truth. We would like to be put in the way of getting at the facts and details of this matter. We can use it with good results among the machinists of New York City." An early answer will be of great advantage to us, as we want to keep the thing going after it got started.
Schenectady, N. Y., Sept. 17.

New York, Sept. 16.

Corroborative.

TO THE PEOPLE.—Your correspondent, who sings "Active" in last Sunday's PEOPLE, hits the nail at the head; only he forgot some of the Assembly Districts. For example, the 12th. With a membership of only 7 in good standing, the Kangaroos cast according to their Bogue Paper—12 votes. Where they get them from, I don't know. They might have given out the names of the members who last year registered as Tammany Hall men.

New York, Sept. 27.

The Party on Top in Pa.

TO THE PEOPLE.—Schubert will reach Pittsburgh the 12th of October where he will remain a few days, then he will go to Erie where he will commence an agitation tour for two weeks in Erie and Mercer Counties, and return to Pittsburgh by way of New Castle where he will hold several meetings and close the campaign in an agitation tour to enable the State Committee to carry their case against the bogus candidates to the Dauphin County court where we will fight them to a successful issue. By the way, the nomination by the State Convention of the S. L. P. at Altoona, May 27th, 1899, will be placed on the official ballot, as against the bogus candidates who were nominated by nobody known to the S. L. P. nor when. This is evidently a "state secret." That the alleged state secretary did not dare to make known in his late circular published in the Bogue People, did not even give out the names of the candidates. That "secrecy" got citizens to sign nomination papers without the names of candidates; he undoubtedly was ashamed of his candidates, that is, if he and his crew

had any. As was shown by the last quarterly report, the party organization was never in better shape, and again in spite of the alleged "crisis" condition. We will also show by this present monthly financial report that the same excellent condition still obtains. This monthly financial report, as was the last quarterly report, will be itemized, showing the party members where the funds come from and how expended.

We failed to see such a report in the circular issued by the self-constituted committee of labor fabric and tax-payers, but this evidently is another "state secret."

Pittsburg, Pa., Sep. 24. VAL. REMBEL.

LETTER-BOX.

Off-hand Answers to Correspondents.

(No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.)

C. L. NEW YORK.—THE PEOPLE goes to press first thing Thursday morning, as usual. You should be able to get it on time.

W. F. S. CLEVELAND, O.—It is not a case of "straining a point." Matters of that nature, not here by Tuesday, can't go out that week.

B. H. PHILA., PA.—The suggestion is good; an article on the several phases in production and consumption, with an eye upon the "incidence of taxation," will be gotten up as soon as time allows, but we prepare you to find some of your ideas rough and unpolished.

MAX MORRIS, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—It is not likely that to your question is not the "Volkskantung" element controlled by bourgeois sentiment—you simply wish an eye or may answer. To deal with your question as we suppose you would take up too much space in this column.

In a few words: It is bourgeois interests that govern the "Volkskantung" element. That is not to be taken as the abridging exaggerated and exaggeratedly absurd position it took upon taxation, claiming that the average workingman's family pays now over \$100 taxes a year; that is purely a bourgeois bugaboo. It also appears from the trade union attitude, the "Pure and Simple" trade union in the bourgeois caricature, and also from its nationalization in a Glasgow attitude. This bourgeois instinct is at the bottom of it. It is essential that one allow not that fact to be concealed through the villanous of the villainous elements that have flocked to the support of these bourgeois interests. The obscure interests of disreputable European and native adventurers, of shyster lawyers, and of scores of similar characters, that, together with the bourgeois, constitute Kangaroos, have raised such a distracting cloud of their own making, that the server might fail to see the essential point: the bourgeois needs of the Kangaroos.

S. M. DENVER, COLO.—You missed the joke. The cool frontistry with which Comrade Schubert claimed that "five minutes waiting had to be allowed a speaker, according to the Constitution of the Party," is a joke, as practiced on the policeman. The policeman being impressed thereby, his not having a watch to do the timing, and the speaker thereupon timing himself at his own leisure, all that constitutes a very rapid episode in the Party's struggle for Free Speech. Of course, there is no such law.

T. N. T. LOS ANGELES, CAL.—The mistake arose from your letter being written on the letter head of the Secretary of the Section. We should have known that A. E. Norman is the secretary.

H. S. VANCOUVER, B. C.—James R. Sorensen's record in THE PEOPLE of 1895-96 quite full. He is essentially bourgeois in his economics; knows only phrases about the working class interests. Write to Morgan of the "Morgan's Buzz" in Little Rock, Arkansas, and he will inform you how dishonorable a politician the man is. He is in the Labor Movement for revenue only. If he could make a living more easily selling peanuts, he would be a peanut vender. There is no reliance whatever to be placed upon his word.

G. K. MILWAUKEE, WIS.—Henry Austin, the author of that masterly article in "The Independent" on "The Socialistic Thorn in Tammany's Side," was the Editor of the Boston "Nationalist."

S. L. BROOKLYN, N. Y.—As there are over 60 subdivisions of Section Greater New York, it has long been found hard to insert their various reports in THE PEOPLE, all the more as the reports of the Section take up considerable space. If the reports of these subdivisions were inserted, there would be no room left for any other Section in the county in the official column. If the report of one of the subdivisions is accepted, that of all the others would have to be accepted, and that you will realize there is no room for. Only important announcements can be taken.

K. K. BUFFALO, N. Y.—The trouble with at least 9 out of every 10 of our opponents is that they are disingenuous. They don't frank, they dare not be frank. They dare not say what they really are after, hence they conceal their point behind a dust of false issues. That's an experience of long standing.

"S. L. P. MAN." CINCINNATI, O.—A Party member, particularly a Party officer, can not hold intimate and friendly intercourse with an active Kangaroo without justly drawing upon himself the suspicion of being culpably weak.

HENRY SALE, CHICAGO, ILL.—The statement of Section Chicago, S. L. P., will be published in THE PEOPLE of October 8. Came too late for this issue.

R. R. YONKERS, N. Y.—Both their "party" and their "organ" are expiring. With the N. E. R. haven't met for 4 weeks. There's nothing to meet on or for. And as for Bogue, why you can hear its death-rattle, they admit it themselves. Even their "Volkskantung" is rushing down, overburdened by increasing debts; its creditors clamoring around it for moneys that they can not get; its advertisers abandoning it and its advertising agents put to their wits' end to wheedle new ones and falling; its circulation dropping; its deficit increasing; in short, the decaying Germans repudiating it fast, it may explode any day, and won't last long anyhow. It is a sign of growing every day is getting their epitaphs ready; these are all in the inkstand on this desk; need but to be dipped out.

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